The COMMONWEAL

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"We Need a Little Unemployment . . ."

FOR SOME time we have been harping upon the inadequacy of the measures being taken to tide over the American economy from war to peace. Ever since the issuance of the Baruch report, months ago, we have been puzzled as to why so little was done to implement it, and that little only after inexplicable delay. How account for our lethargy, as far as the various branches of government are concerned? The most charitable explanation was to assume that the responsibilities involved in winning the war weighed so heavily upon the shoulders of Congress and the Executive that they felt unable to give adequate time and reflection to what seemed a secondary problem. Yet as the end of the war drew appreciably nearer, it began to look as though there must be other reasons. As has been related in these columns, schemes proposed to cushion reconversion for the American people—hastily conceived schemes, to be sure, and schemes subject to much criticism in detail—have been systematically rejected. The Senate, it is true, pared them down rather than threw them out, but the House has thrown them out not once but twice.

Can it possibly be true that our legislature shares the optimism reported recently in the columns of *Time,* from which we are led to believe that private industry and private initiative—in short, "free enterprise"—can succeed in finding jobs for all the war workers and all the men discharged from our armed forces? Remember that to do this industry will have to make available some 32 million jobs in the course of a year or two. On the face of it, this is impossible without some sort of assistance—however temporary—from the State.

Last week we quoted a sentence or two from Senator Kilgore's speech in the Senate in favor of the defeated Murray-Kilgore Bill. "Let no one say to himself that a little unemployment will help as back to normalcy. I have heard that argument too many times. On the streets of Washington and in the hotels I have heard the statement made that we need about 20,000,000 unemployed persons in the United States. There is no such thing as a little unemployment." Does this supply a clue as to the real motive for the present mood of Congressmen? It seems incredible, but there is reason to believe that it does. The attitude is probably no more complicated than this: we have had full employment for a couple of years, now, and see what it does to the workers! It makes them uppity and insolent. The only way you can hold them in check is by making them feel insecure, and the only way you can do that is to have unemployment—maybe even a lot of unemployment. That will teach them to keep in their places.

Such a mood is, of course, unpardonably irresponsible. But it is a mood which exists and it is a mood which can bring upon us an economic disaster the like of which this country has never seen. For as Senator Kilgore says, "there is no such thing as a *little* unemployment." The minute you begin to have any serious amount of unemployment, you have set the spiral in motion, and you are on the way to a stoppage and breakdown of the most magnificent industrial machine the world has ever created, pregnant with the first hope the world has ever known of doing away with want.

Unhappily this mood of irritation—which has certainly been reinforced by all the emphasis the press has put upon wartime strikes—fits in admirably with the old fashioned notions of more reactionary business men. There are some such who would indeed welcome a depression on the ground that it would force down wages and tend to cut the claws of labor unions. One cannot for an instant suggest that such inhuman views are held even by a majority of American business executives, but there are some who do hold them, and the foolish notion that a little unemployment would be a good thing in teaching the working man his place certainly fits in with their plans.

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What we desperately need as a nation is what every business enterprise assumes as good practice—some sort of insurance policy against the fire which would be ignited by any considerable enforced idleness among the American people. Playing with fire is a notoriously dangerous business. Insurance against fire is plain common sense. It is impossible strongly enough to insist upon the criminal folly of the first and the dire need for the second.

Our Case Against Cartels

THE INDICTMENT by a San Francisco grand jury of seven borax companies for having since 1929 controlled the production and marketing of over 90 percent of the entire world supply of borax calls attention to one of the chief points at issue between the United States and our allies. It springs from our determination to do away with cartels. The indictment of Borax Consolidated is to the effect that it "controls 95 percent of the world production of borax from crude borates, including 100 percent of the world production from kernite, all of which is located in Kern County, California." The case has several familiar features. It is charged that only recently discovered German ownership (of the American Potash and Chemical Corporation) controlled nearly 90 percent of all the borax obtained from lake brines, virtually all of it from Searles Lake, California. And that this corporation at a critical time withheld dehydrated borax from the Allied Governments, although it would have taken but half the shipping space, for fear of upsetting the world price structure and marketing agreements. It recalls the aid which Germany received from the Standard Oil-IGF cartel agreements revealed earlier in the war.

The conviction that cartels so seriously impaired our war effort no doubt explains much of the strength of American prejudice against them. Yet aversion to international commodity agreements which pool patents, control production and prices and parcel out world markets for the pecuniary benefit of the participants derives from the general American belief in freedom of enterprise. The fact that certain American companies have quietly gone in for similar shenanigans has not modified this popular aversion.

There is now a further reason for the American hostility to cartels recently expressed in a vague fashion by President Roosevelt and acted on forcibly by Thurman Arnold, Wendell Berge and other members of the Justice Department. That is that the cartels we have known have tended directly to curb production and withhold goods from the market in order to obtain higher prices. The international cartel is the living proof that "nothing succeeds like monopoly." It is the economics of scarcity carried out to its logical extreme. But in this country today, much as certain business leaders and Congressmen may privately hold to the contrary, we have placed our confidence in an economy of abundance as the only means of making a go of our potentially successful economy.

In the "Road to Serfdom," reviewed elsewhere in this issue, Dr. Hayek cites a British economist who claims that the United States is the only country in the world which is able to produce beyond the needs of its people, the only place where want in the midst of potential plenty exists in fact. It is hardly surprising, then, that the other nations have arrived at economic solutions which differ from ours. It is well known that Britain must markedly increase her exports after the war if her economy is to survive; it is less current that certain of her national cartels have worked so well during the war that she has every intention of retaining and expanding them as a means of stabilizing production, prices, wages, markets—indeed her whole economy.

Russia, on the other hand, has again another problem, with vast areas requiring reconstruction and a terrible lag in consumers' goods. Her immediate problem varies greatly from what it is expected to be fifteen years from now, when Russian factories begin competing in the world market with the rest of us. In any case, in order to obtain the machinery she needs—and other materials for industrialization and reconstruction—the Soviets will continue to trade as a nation. Their methods and restrictions have much the same effect in the world market as cartels.

How can American business, under the aegis of competing and unorganized private enterprise, deal, as it must, with such bodies as British Government cartels and Soviet trading authorities? There is little likelihood that we shall succeed in persuading the British and the Russians and other cartel-minded nations of the error of their ways, for they believe that such methods are vital to their well-being. Their need of American supplies should, however, enable the United States to control in large measure the conditions under which this trade is carried out. Much depends on the uses to which cartels are put. An economy of abundance only in the United States is obviously but a daydream.

Re-Education in Germany

PROPOSALS for education in Germany after the war range all the way from complete *laissez faire* to the setting up of a system manned and directed by Allied educators and administrators. It is not clear at this point what orientation the German school system would have if left to itself, but it is far from certain that the ideas that would rush in to fill the vacuum created by the final disintegration of the nazi *cultus* would provide a

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sound foundation for Germany's new rôle in a peaceful Europe. A matter of such importance cannot be left to chance. The other extreme of a foreign-directed German education would obviously arouse such resentment as to produce the very opposite of the effect intended. It would antagonize the very elements in whom resides the hope of genuine German international collaboration in the years to come.

This is a large subject, but there is one project now in process which is worth noting at this time. According to the current *Publishers Weekly* the refugee German publisher, Gottfried Bermann-Fischer, who has brought out in Stockholm the works of currently proscribed German authors, is preparing in manuscript form a series of textbooks in history, chemistry, biology, physics and mathematics under the direction and supervision of a number of distinguished exiles now serving as professors in this country. The books will not be actually manufactured until approval is secured from the proper authorities, whoever they may be. This suggests that the most feasible solution of the problem lies in the direction of a German-operated educational system with some sort of supervision or approval required for courses of study and textbooks. That good material will immediately be available is a hopeful sign.

Feeding the Hungry

THE PREPOSTEROUS legalism whereby UNRRA was preventing from giving relief to Italy seems to have broken down under the concerted attack of all those who realize the obligations both of Christianity and humanity. Since the liberation of the greater part of the Italian peninsula, conditions there have degenerated to a point almost surpassing belief—certainly to a point far worse than they were under fascism or under German occupation. The figures are constantly repeated; they are worth repeating once more. One half of all the children born die in infancy. Nearly one quarter of the population is tuberculous. And the simple cause is lack of adequate food, of housing, of clothing, of medical supplies. Were this situation to continue, conscience would force us all to surround the word *liberation* with quotation marks every time we applied it to Italy, for it could only be used in bitter irony. Starvation and destitution make meaningless every noble possibility inherent in man, and most of all they rob freedom of all sense and meaning.

It is now announced that UNRRA will probably make available some fifty million dollars for Italian relief, "leaving the major part of the task for other agencies." Seemingly certain of the European governments cooperating in UNRRA still object to any large program for Italy on the ground of Italy's participation in the Axis. It likewise appears that UNRRA has not as yet received anything like its full appropriations for relief, and hence its funds are much smaller than had been expected. It may be disappointing that this agency can do no more, but at least it seems prepared to do something. Much more encouraging is the announcement of the formation of a special Italian organization to supervise the distribution of relief. Its national committee is of the highest caliber, and includes eminent representatives of the Vatican. Mrs. McCormick in her dispatch to the New York *Times* (September 19) informs us that President Roosevelt is deeply interested in this scheme and indeed it was proposed through the agency of Mr. Myron C. Taylor, acting in behalf of American Relief for Italy. But most heartening of all is to find paid advertisements in the daily press urging Italy's case upon the attention of Americans and subscribed to by a large group of interested organizations, headed by the AFL and William Green and including the CIO and Philip Murray as well as Messrs. Hillman and Dubinsky—a sign that in the cause of relieving human misery even the irreconcilable can be reconciled.

UAW Convention

IN THE REPORTS of the auto workers' convention in Grand Rapids one can read between the lines. This is probably the world's largest labor union. It is a relatively new union, and its membership today is very largely if not entirely made up of workers in war production. They are and have been for some time greatly perturbed about the future. They feel that they are going to get a raw deal once the war is over. There is undoubtedly a tremendous rank and file sentiment against the no-strike pledge, although the convention renewed it. Of course, in line with present communist policy, what communist leadership there is in this union is committed to the no-strike pledge and even is probably committed to a no-strike pledge after the war is over. No leadership, however, could possibly hold in check the rank and file mood of resentment to the extent of making a post-war no-strike commitment. Hence one can understand the lack of communist strength which emerged from the UAW's election of officers. Not only were Walter Reuther and Richard Frankensteen reelected as international vice presidents, but Lew. Michener, West Coast regional director and a close associate of Harry Bridges, was removed from his job. All in all, the UAM convention seems to indicate that the present communist line does not sit well with the American working man, who remains convinced that the strike is in the last analysis his only effective weapon.

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Must It Be Socialized Medicine?

What the profession must do to preserve its freedom

Anonymous

TO the reader: I have always disapproved of hiding behind anonymity, so you will understand why I feel a little ashamed and want to explain why I am doing it this time. When this article was originally discussed with the editors, it was planned to publish it under my name. Then the article was completed and submitted to the firm that employs me. They have a healthy respect for the power of the AMA, and I was forbidden to publish the material under my name, as being potentially harmful to the firm's business relations with the AMA. Surely you will understand and will forgive my anonymity, for my first duty is to support my family.

In writing the article I did not think of it as an attack upon the organization or personnel of American medicine. Yet my experience thus far would indicate that it will be regarded as an attack. I have always thought of myself as a friend of the medical man. Years spent in premedical and medical education and in the manufacture of medicinals have made me think of myself as a part of the medical system of our country. I thought that I was befriending my associates in warning that we must compromise with the people immediately, or we will have state medicine. And the compromise must be real. No expensive incomplete insurance plan will suffice. But the spirit of the AMA is not one of compromise. If it were, wealthy pharmaceutical firms would not fear the organized physicians to the point of forbidding free speech under his own name to one of their technical employees.

So here I want to say again, more personally than in the following pages, let us cooperate with the nation with complete unselfishness. We have failed to solve the social and economic problems involved and to give adequate medical service to the nation. The people are now in a mood to try their hand at solving those problems. May God move us to give them the advantage of our records, our knowledge, and our general cooperation.

THE AUTHOR.

AFTER telling a group of physicians that even stubborn resistance cannot prevent the American people from having a new medical order, Assistant Attorney General Berge concluded, regarding this new form of service:

> Its direction may be lodged with a tripartite board, representing the government, the public and the profession; or the public and the profession free from government interference may assume joint responsibility. It may or may not be state medicine; it cannot escape being social medicine.[1]

It appears that in the United States today there are few well-informed people who do not agree that ultimately we will have a form of socialized medicine. Some give their consent to the prediction with ecstatic optimism about the result; others merely in tired resignation to the inevitable. Both attitudes give equal speed to the dissolution of our present system of medical practice. Of course, there is opposition, and, as Wendell Berge says, it is "stubborn," but that very stubbornness is born of weakness and is already in the state of name-calling rather than argument. Berge and others who admit that the handwriting is already on the wall are called "radical schemers plotting the socialization of medicine."[2]

We must acknowledge that the handwriting has warned us and the time has come to appeal to the medical profession, the pharmaceutical profession and the pharmaceutical manufacturer to stop being stubborn, and to appeal to the public to inform itself about the merits and demerits of social medicine before it casts the die.

Why must there be a change? Such general movements involving mass decisions are not just whims. It is obvious that there is a widespread conviction that modern medicine has failed the society which has created it and which it serves. With that conviction established, the nation is on the brink of socialized medicine as the solution. Socialized medicine has not yet been tried. It might stimulate a solution of our problems, but there is nothing assured.

If your car will not run, do you turn it upside down to see if that will correct the trouble? Of course not. You find the cause and then try to fix it. Unbelievable as it may seem, the movement toward socialization of medicine has not yet included any effort at analysis of what is wrong or how the change might influence those aspects in which medical service has failed. Of course there

[1] *Drug Trade News*, Vol. 19, No. 14.
[2] *Drug Trade News*, Vol. 19, No. 13.

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are individuals who have considered this, but the public has not been given the basic facts that are required for a sound decision, and it is the public that is going to make the final decision.

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In all of the recent publicity has anyone heard these three questions: In what respects has medical service failed us? Why has medical service failed us? What procedure would cure the failures? The problem that confronts us can never be solved until the people of the United States are permitted to view the entire harsh truth of the unattended, underprivileged sick, the lack of prenatal care occasioned by poverty, the errors in diagnosis that result from lack of proper equipment and countless other specific facts. We, as a nation, are pointed toward socialized medicine, and we do not yet have even a working agreement as to what is now wrong or how socialization would help.

Why is this movement so strong? It may be wishful thinking, that any new order would necessarily improve conditions. Let us get behind a drive for a logical change, not just a hopeful change.

It would be definitely presumptuous for any one individual, no matter how broad his experience, to give a final analysis of what is wrong with our medical set-up. I have no intention of doing that. Rather, this is to be regarded as an outline to serve as an organizational basis for study, thought and discussion. It is true that some aspects of the inadequacy of medical service are so obvious that all would consent to their existence, but the reasons therefor and what to do about them are different matters.

I suggest the following as perhaps the five most outstanding failures of medical service. The first relates to obstetrics. Inadequate medical care of obstetrical cases is more the result of our general social pattern than of the medical system. Let us imagine that a family has a child every year (some families actually do). If the breadwinner is a middle class workman and already has other children to support, he is in no position to spend more than a few weeks income on the new delivery. Yet the mother must be incapacitated for at least two weeks; care for the other children and the house must be hired. A conventionally high medical fee must be paid and a high hospital bill. If the mother goes into a ward, her chances of trouble are increased, for epidemics among mothers and infants are not uncommon. Our complex social order in this industrialized world has made no proper provision for reproduction. If society owes anything to anybody it certainly is obligated to give the best of care to the mother that reproduces the species, and she deserves it without dissipating her family's savings or mortgaging their future. It would be very significant to know to what extent birth control is selfishness and what part the tremendous cost of delivery plays. It is greatly to be lamented that those religious groups that fight birth control have never done anything concrete about this problem. The best they offer the indigent mother is a bed in a charity ward, and that is hell. Remember this, the maternal death rate in the United States is the highest of any truly modern country. This is undoubtedly the worst blot on our medical system.

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The second great failure is the general care of the underprivileged. It is probable that the poorer Negroes of the nation represent the largest group of underprivileged that receives little or no medical care. The white physician in private practice does not encourage them to be patients, and we have seen to it that there are not an appropriate number of Negro physicians to care for their own people. This is just as true of the Negro in Harlem's chaos as of those who struggle with nature in the Georgia swamps.

I am intimately acquainted with the white folk of the Southern hills who frequently are born, live and die without benefit of M.D.'s. But I must confess that beyond knowing from my personal observation that the medical care of our underprivileged is grossly inadequate I know nothing about it. And we the people of the United States want the veil of charity ward secrecy torn away, we wish to be apprised of the unrelieved pain and ignored sufferings of the Georgia swamps; we want to hang our heads in shame before parasite-generated imbecility. And we want this information in a statistical, actuarial sense.

The third great lack is equipment. With medical practice organized as a private business enterprise, the young physician who is not wealthy necessarily has to start with meager equipment. Modern medicine, being based upon the routinizing of procedures developed by research scientists in physics, chemistry and biology, frequently necessitates more equipment for both diagnosis and treatment than a physician possesses or even has available within reasonable distance. The physician who practices medicine with the charitable non-profit outlook of his predecessors of the past century is not likely to be able to purchase adequate equipment.

The fourth failure is inadequate personnel. Frankly, there are not enough physicians in the country. There are enough to skim the cream from a purely business viewpoint. That is all. In an editorial of the *Journal* of the American Medical Association, July 8, 1944, concern is expressed over the scarcity of physicians. When the

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AMA admits there is a dearth of physicians, there can be no question about it, for their policy has been to limit the number.

The fifth failure relates to the promotion and detailing of therapeutic agents. Medical practice and the prescription of remedial agents is too much subject to high pressure promotion and selling by the manufacturers of pharmaceutical products.

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In addition to these five points I would like to direct attention to some problematical or controversial factors that may interfere with the realization of good medical service. Service to the middle class has been taken for granted. Is the cost unjust? Is the physician's income more than he deserves in comparison with others of equal educational background, such as industrial and academic scientists with advanced degrees, college professors, clergymen and attorneys? The general public is not informed on average incomes of these professions. It would seem to be the function of the Federal Government to release such data and see that they are adequately publicized.

Another moot question is the competence of medical personnel. Dr. Herman L. Kretschmer said some very harsh things in his recent AMA presidential address. He finds many physicians do not know how to write a prescription. He claims they prescribe to a shocking extent the product whose salesman last visited them, that is, they prescribe a patent medicine and the pharmacist washes off the manufacturer's label and pastes on a prescription label. Then when another expert salesman makes the rounds an increase in the number of prescriptions calling for his product will be noted. And so on in an unending cycle. So the manufacturer with the most detailers (salesmen to physicians) determines what prescription many patients receive. If such criticisms as these be justified, then it would seem that an investigation by proper impartial scientists into the whole system of medical education and licensing would be in order.

In evaluating socialized medicine, perhaps our best procedure would be to let our thoughts be guided by the content of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill. It is probable that this bill was introduced more with an experimental intention than as a serious effort toward immediate enactment. If such be the case, then the extensive interest which it evoked portends other similar bills modified in accordance with the general reaction of specific features of this one. Actually the bill did not relate just to medicine. It was an attempt to convert the present old age and survivors income insurance law, improperly spoken of as social security law, into a true social security form of compulsory insurance. It would have broadened the present system to include many other workers and have permitted, on a voluntary basis, participation of everyone.

The project was to be financed by a six percent employee and a six percent employer tax on the first three thousand dollars earned. Those entitled to benefits would have received, among other things, general medical care and hospitalization. The bill itself offered no solution for any of the ills of present medical practice. It merely placed everything in the hands of the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service. The Surgeon General was to become a virtual dictator of American medicine. As such he would have had the power to correct as he saw fit.

The American Medical Association and other pressure groups have fought the plan in its entirety, but the point that they have perhaps most emphasized is that such a dictatorial system is not consistent with good medical practice. That, of course, is absurd, for if such a system be not compatible with good medical service, then our soldiers and sailors are inevitably receiving inadequate care, for the medical departments of the Army and Navy are dictatorial in the same sense. And from what we hear, the medical records of the Services in this war are excellent. These considerations are introduced merely to indicate that opposition to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill has not been intelligent. The opposition has been based upon deceit and misrepresentation. The inference has also been spread that the type of physician who would participate would not give good service under the system. If that be true, then those physicians are unworthy under any plan to be the important public servants that they are. Such a statement is merely criticism of the M.D. personnel and not of the bill in question.

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Yet this does not mean that the bill was good. I for one opposed it and will continue to oppose similar measures. However, my opposition rests upon the fact that it offers no solution for the failures of present medical service. All that it did, after all, was to offer a different system of payment. The cost of medical care was to be defrayed by a prepayment or insurance plan. Socialized medicine cannot pay the bill by waving a wand. And ultimately the customer would pay. It had just two advantages—the workman earning one thousand dollars would get the same service as one receiving three thousand (the physician's sliding fees should take care of this now), and it would probably have gone a long way toward solving the problem of obstetrics. Of course, if the Surgeon General proved to be a veritable superman he might cure all the ills

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of the present system, but that leaves much to chance.

The fact that this scheme of socialized medicine carries only one certainty, namely, that the method of payment would be changed, might well make one suspect that its support stems from the middle class which feels that it is now paying too much for what it receives. If that be true, then I am doubly opposed to the system, because we do not really know what the situation is with regard to the middle classes. The problem requires statistical social study. Insurance actuaries with federal assistance should be able to give us quickly requisite data for a sound conclusion. What we want to know is: (1) Do people postpone necessary medical service because of cost? (How about teeth and the dentist, who is outside this discussion?) (2) Are families abbreviated because of medical costs? (3) Are homes mortgaged and foreclosed because of medical cost? (4) Do acute cases ever die because of medical cost?

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The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill was opposed by physicians. Some group insurance plans have their blessing. Under the former, the Surgeon General, being a dictator, could have fixed fees. In the latter instance the physician receives compensation on an indemnity plan, and if he wishes, he may charge the patient extra.

Let us briefly outline the recently established New Hampshire Physician Service. The subscriber pays twenty-seven dollars a year (one person). From this, nine dollars goes to each of the following: hospitalization, surgical service, medical service. In an illness the subscriber must pay for the first two visits by a physician. After those two visits the physician receives an indemnity from the fund, to the extent of twenty-five visits. There is no limitation on his making additional charge over and above the indemnity. The service is dominated by the New Hampshire Medical Society.

It would seem that such group insurance plans may be devised for two purposes, to take advantage of the subscriber and to divert attention from socialized medicine with teeth in it, like that portended by the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

It is obvious that in any such complicated project as medical service to the people of the United States, the correction of one aspect in which a given system is a failure may, by virtue of interrelationships, correct or ameliorate other failures. To be specific, it seems highly probable that a substantial increase in the number of practicing physicians would not only immediately correct our lack of adequately trained medical men, but would ultimately, because of rigorous competition, lead to a correction of other ills. In no other learned profession are there so few students trained in the field that even the poorest may be a success. In high school some students fail; in college some fail and drop out; in medical school some fail, but in the practice of medicine there is so little struggle for survival that a negligible number are forced out. On the other hand, in engineering many qualified students never obtain an engineering post. In industrial science numbers of our most highly trained men have had long periods of unemployment, and others have found it advisable to forsake the field. Countless men and women trained to be college teachers are placed in the high schools or are out of teaching entirely.

To be sure, this survival of the fittest is wasteful in that long years of training do not attain their obvious fulfillment, but no individual need count mental discipline as wholly useless. However, wasteful or not, it serves an excellent purpose. The more incompetent tend to fall by the way-side. Perhaps Dr. Kretschmer would find less fault with physicians if there were more rigorous selection after graduation. In other words, I am not saying that we should have enough physicians. I am saying that we should have more than enough.

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Space does not permit an adequate discussion of why we now have, roughly, only a hundred and eighty thousand physicians. All sorts of fallacious reasons are given. The most common and most valuable from the standpoint of deception is that the very high standards for entrance to medical schools limits the number of candidates. In other words, we are told that our colleges produce only seven thousand students a year that are capable of being physicians. To one with extensive contact with pre-medical students this is ridiculous. Under peacetime conditions the schools admitted five thousand a year. With the wartime speed-up program they have raised that number to seven thousand. War makes students no more brilliant than peace.

We have sixty-seven recognized medical schools with the number per class limited by the physical plant. We have ordinarily about five thousand graduates a year, which is increasing the M.D.'s of the nation by about two thousand a year. The AMA seemed to feel before the war that they had a thoroughly satisfactory system worked out to prevent their field from becoming overcrowded. We must admit that they had. Other trade unions have done the same thing. Their motive is a natural one, but when we realize that the policy has jeopardized our lives and our nation, we should not permit them to continue it any longer.

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It took the war and the great need for medical men in the services to demonstrate to the nation that we do not have enough physicians. The AMA is still reluctant to admit that there is an actual shortage, and to the extent that they do confess it they do not shoulder the blame. We quote the following from an editorial: "Today medical educators and the medical profession of the country refuse to accept the responsibility for the acute shortage of medical care which will threaten this country within a few years if current regulations and policies persist. The responsibility must rest with the armed forces, the Selective Service System, the President and the Congress of the United States."[3] It would seem that after the AMA policy of restricting medical education has placed us all in a predicament it is now the fault of the President and official agencies because they do not jump every time the AMA cracks the whip.

There is an abundance of competent candidates for medical education. Some of them are too poor to afford the expense of four years of medical training. If some of the best students are not to be lost, there must be a scheme of financial assistance.

It is accordingly suggested that after the war medical installations developed for use of the Army and Navy be converted into a sufficient number of strategically located medical schools to carry the usual four classes of five thousand students each. After four years they would begin turning out almost five thousand graduates a year.

Admit students on a basis of competitive examinations with a two-year pre-medical requirement. Open competition for admittance should have only one limitation. Underprivileged minority groups must be accepted according to their percentage of the population. Thus, ten percent of each class should be Negroes. Treat Indians, Mexicans and others in the same manner. Admit sexes on a basis of equality. If a student has means he pays tuition and maintenance. If he be without funds, support him at government expense and let him repay the nation by serving in work with the underprivileged for an appropriate time.

One criticism by the "stubborn" opposition will be that you cannot do good teaching and good scientific work under government domination. That, of course, is rubbish, for most of our medical schools today are state or municipally-owned. Another criticism will be that it is bondage to educate the poor and let them earn it later by service to the nation. However, that criticism will not come from the boys and girls, particularly Negroes, who are too poor to get a medical education any other way.

The students who have a period of service with the government after graduation can be integrated with a procedure that will solve the equipment problem. It is a foregone conclusion that many physicians must depend upon superficial diagnostic criteria because they themselves do not have adequate equipment and hospital and commercial laboratory facilities may not be available. There is no less reason why medical equipment should not be publicly owned than there is for schools to be publicly owned. It is suggested that each ward, township, county, or whatever unit is deemed proper, be equipped with a laboratory affording every necessary instrument for diagnosis and treatment, perhaps excepting surgical treatment. Contrary to the custom in schools, it would seem practical here to have a modest usage fee that would cover the cost of the permanent personnel. The general facilities could most justly be paid for by contributions from federal, state and local funds.

The students supported at government expense during their medical education could well be attached to these small laboratories during the years in which they are assigned work. Similar to hospital internes, they would receive a very modest salary, maintenance, and in turn work in the laboratories, learning much of value and at the same time serving as the local physician for indigent families.

Much could be done for the problem of obstetrics by having one of the items of equipment consist of sets of the necessary material for good home delivery; these would be rented for use in cases where the attending physician and the patient deemed this practicable. One of the major reasons for hospital delivery is to facilitate transfusions and other emergency treatment when needed. Use of dried plasma and other blood substitutes will make home delivery the best procedure because infection is less likely to occur there.

The equipment at the local laboratory would be operated by specially qualified technicians, many of them M.D.'s. This feature would offer an improvement, for the general practitioner is frequently not familiar with complicated apparatus. Some specialists would naturally have to turn to other fields. There would be work for thousands of discharged medical corpsmen, who have been well trained under the rigid standards of the Army and Navy. This plan would save the physician the greater part of his overhead expense, allowing him substantially to reduce his fees without effecting his net income. The general practitioner, at least, would remain wholly independent. That is why this system is suggested. I have opposed socialization of medicine because I believe that it is better, in so far as

[3] *Journal of the American Medical Association,* Vol. 125, No. 10.

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practical, to let independent business remain independent. For society to see that there are enough physicians by having the government educate them is not depriving anyone of his just freedom of action. Present medical schools would be run as each sees fit. Their fault is not in the quality of their work but in the quantity. As far as equipment is concerned the present system causes much waste by duplication of simple items, and yet complex ones are often unavailable over large areas.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize a most absurd inconsistency. We are told our medical service would be very inferior if the physician were subject to government edict and supervision. Yet most of our physicians received their education, primary, secondary, college and medical, in publicly-owned schools, either municipal or state. If they cannot be good physicians with government strings tied to them, then their medical schools, as state institutions, could not have properly trained them. Hence, a poor physician under any system. Although continuation of independent medicine will cause less upheaval, there is no more for us to fear in state medicine than there is in state medical education.

Deus Excelsus Terribilis

Raïssa Maritain

I

Quand nous avons reçu votre Parole
Dans la douceur du premier don
La force et la joie du coeur neuf

Vous nous gardiez dans votre Paix
Vous mesuriez à la mesure humaine
Notre part du calice amer.

Nous avons souffert il est vrai
Dans le corps et dans l'âme—les sens et l'esprit
Et nous avons connu l'angoisse

Mais toujours nous avons pu situer notre souffrance
Et connaître qu'ailleurs le bonheur existait.

Toujours nous avons pu trouver quelque réponse
De la terre ou du ciel
L'apaisement que répand la lumière
Le rafraîchissement des larmes—la prière
Le souvenir au moins de l'espérance
Et l'amitié égale à la douleur.

Tout cela est aboli
Tout cela qui fut avant,
Nous cheminons parmi les morts
Et pleurons amèrement.
Le Dieu de notre foi nous a abandonnés
Il nous laisse à nous-mêmes.

II

Tout cela est englouti dans l'éternel passé
Tout cela qui fut *avant*.
Avant que Dieu se soit entouré de terreurs
Avant qu'Il ait laissé aller son bras pesant
Et qu'Il ait fait paraître sa Justice
Au noir soleil de ses décrets mystérieux.

I

When we long ago received Your Word,
In the sweets of the first giving,
The strength and joy of our new heart.

You guarded us in Your Peace,
Measuring with human measure
Our part of the bitter cup.

We suffered, it is true,
In body and in soul—in senses and in spirit,
And we have known anguish.

But always we could assign a place to our pain
And know that elsewhere existed happiness.

Always some answer could be found
From heaven or from earth,
The assuagement that light diffuses
The refreshment of tears, prayer,
The memory, at least, of hope
And friendship equal to sorrow.

All this is abolished,
All this which was before,
We tramp among the dead
And weep bitterly.
The God of our faith has abandoned us,
He leaves us alone to ourselves.

II

All this is swallowed up in the eternal past
All this which was *before*.
Before God surrounded Himself with terrors
Before He let go His weighty arm
And made His justice shine forth
In the black sun of His mysterious decrees.

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Avant le martyre des Nations,
La France—en croix entre ses larrons—
La Pologne et leurs soeurs de misère.

Avant le massacre innombrable des Juifs,
La pitié d'Israël immolé par des esclaves,
Salus ex Judaeis!

Avant que Dieu ait voilé son visage
De ce voile de sang,
Avant qu'Il se soit détourné de l'innocence.

III

Si nous crions Abba! Pater!
Vous n'accueillez pas notre cri
Il nous revient comme une flèche
Qui a frappé la cible impénétrable,
Vous nous replongez dans la nuit.

C'est comme si nous avions perdu Notre Père
Qui est aux Cieux
Un abîme s'est ouvert entre la Miséricorde et la Misère
Et vous ne voulez pas le franchir.

La Sagesse nous a délaissés
Nous avons perdu ses traces
Les grâces de la joie et de la vie nous ont quittés
Toute fraîcheur a disparu, toute fleur,
Toute la terre féconde des calmes prairies du bonheur.

IV

Mon Dieu habitez-vous un ciel inaccessible
Méprisez-vous le coeur de vos enfants?
Dans l'infernal tourment—ce désert sans limites
Il est comme un roc ravagé par les vents.

Le roc desséché peut-il fleurir
Le coeur pétrifié peut-il prier?
En votre oubli peut-il se réjouir
Consumé d'horreur peut-il pleurer?

Sans prière et sans joie et sans larmes
Un coeur humain peut-il vivre?
Aux arides régions des silences du ciel
Le coeur humain peut-il subsister?

V

Nous n'oublierons jamais notre agonie
Nous nous en souviendrons dans la vie éternelle.
Ce que l'âme ne peut soutenir
Ce qui ne peut ni s'imaginer ni se dire,
Ce que nous souffrons, ce que nous aurons souffert,
Nous en garderons éternellement le souvenir.

La France brisée, souillée, ravagée,
La famine, là-bas, qui amenuise les corps,
Les enfants qui ne grandiront pas,
Les adolescents qui sont en esclavage,
En prison en captivité
Les jeunes Français;

Before the martyrdom of the Nations,
France—crucified between her thieves—
And Poland and their sisters of distress.

Before the unnumberable massacre of the Jews,
The lament of Israel immolated by slaves,
Salus ex Judaeis!

Before God veiled His face
With that veil of blood,
Before He turned away from innocence.

III

If we cry Abba! Father!
You do not hearken to our cry.
It bounds back to us as an arrow
Striking a brazen target,
You plunge us back into the night.

It is as though we have lost our Father
Who is in Heaven,
An abyss yawns between loving-kindness and want
And You will not to cross it.

Wisdom has abandoned us
We have lost its traces,
The graces of joy and life have quit us,
All freshness has vanished, every flower,
All the fertile soil of the calm meadows of bliss.

IV

My God, do You inhabit an unattainable Heaven
Are You contemptuous of Your children's heart?
In the infernal torment—that desert without bounds—
That heart is like a rock ravaged by the winds

The dried-up rock—can it flower;
The petrified heart—can it pray;
Forgotten by You can it rejoice;
Consumed by horror can it weep?

Without prayer and without joy and without tears
Can a human heart live?
In the barren regions of the silences of heaven
Can the human heart exist?

V

We shall never forget our dying
We shall remember it in life eternal.
What the soul cannot support,
What cannot be imagined, and cannot be told,
What we suffer, what we shall have suffered,
We will keep forever in memory.

France shattered, fouled, ravaged,
Famine there, wasting bodies,
The children who will not grow,
Adolescents who are in slavery,
In prison in captivity
The young Frenchmen,

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Les femmes aux travaux forcés
Et les otages de la haine
Mis à mort par milliers.
Ce qui ne peut se dire
Ce que l'esprit se refuse à porter.

VI

Quatre millions de Juifs—et davantage—ont subi la mort sans consolation,
Ceux qui restent sont promis au carnage.

C'est Votre lignée—Seigneur—que l'on extermine!
Et les puissances meurtries et blasées
Oublieront de les venger,
Comme elles ont oublié de les secourir.

Au-dessus de ce peuple né pour le sacrifice
Flotte la nuée immatérielle du martyre
Car ils sont vos Témoins o mon Dieu!
Ces héritiers de l'Ancien Testament,
Et il en coûte aussi cher de témoigner pour la Lettre
Que pour l'Esprit de votre enseignement,
Souverain Auteur de l'Ecriture.

Israël a été conduit à la boucherie,
Troupeau sans pasteur sans bergerie.
Il a été traqué comme du gibier
Dans les rues des villes et des villages,
Les Jardins de la France.
Des femmes se sont jetées par les fenêtres
Avec leurs enfants pour ne pas les livrer
Et d'autres se sont donné la mort pour fuir l'ignominie.
Des vieillards ont abrégé leurs jours
Parce qu'ils ont vu leur espérance condamnée.

Et partout, Allemagne, où ton armée a passé,
L'armée de tes bourreaux est venue avec elle
Pour égorger tout être vivant,
Détruire par le feu le refuge des pauvres
Et la beauté des siècles dans les villes.

Nous n'oublierons jamais ton infamie,
Nous nous en souviendrons sur la terre
Et dans la vie éternelle.

Car nous avons été marqués du caractère
De souffrance infinie.

VII

Le monde est tout entier posé dans le mal
L'innocence de l'enfant dure peu d'années
Et le bonheur de la jeunesse moins encore
Les guerres sont venues et viendront après les guerres
Et les révolutions après révolutions
Et toujours l'homicide la bêtise et le mensonge
Se partageront la terre
Et il n'y aura pas d'acquittement pour les nations
Mais seulement pour les âmes une à une.

La sainteté a créé des oasis de Dieu

Women at hard labor
And the hostages of hate
Put to death by thousands.
What cannot be told
What the mind refuses to bear.

VI

Four million Jews—and more—have suffered death without consolation,
Those who are left are promised to the slaughter.

It is Your lineage, Lord, which is exterminated,
And bruised and weary forces
Will forget to avenge them
As they forgot to succor them.

Above this people born for sacrifice
Floats the intangible cloud of martyrdom,
For they are Your witnesses, O my God!
These heirs of the Old Covenant,
And it costs as dear to bear witness for the Letter
As for the Spirit of Your teaching,
Sovereign Author of the Scripture.

Israel was led to the butchery,
Flock without shepherd without fold,
They were tracked down like game
In the streets of towns and villages,
The Gardens of France.
Women with their children they would not give up
Hurled themselves from the windows.
Others espoused death to flee ignominy,
Old men shortened their days
Because they saw their hope condemned.

And everywhere, O Germany, where your army passed,
The army of your hangmen came with it
To slaughter every being that lives,
Destroy by fire the refuge of the poor
And in the towns the beauty of centuries.

We shall never forget your infamy
We shall remember it on earth
And in the life eternal.

For we have been marked with the character
Of infinite pain.

VII

The world in its entirety is set in evil,
The child's innocence lasts but a few years,
And the happiness of youth is shorter yet,
Wars came and will come after wars,
And revolutions after revolutions,
And always slaying and folly and lies
Will divide the earth between them,
And there will be no acquittal for the nations
But only for the souls—one by one.

Sanctity has created oases of God,

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Le désert a reçu des mendiants affamés de paix
Et les ermitages sont devenus des monastères.
Il n'y a rien de plus à inventer dans ce sens
Et les cités de Dieu elles-mêmes
Le peuple qui les habite est tributaire du péché.
Il n'y a rien de parfait sous le soleil
Les bons n'ont pas été séparés des méchants
Ni le bien décanté du mal
Mais il aura été donné à notre temps
De voir régner les Princes de l'Enfer.

VIII

Dieu d'Abraham d'Isâc et de Jacob,
Dieu de vérité d'amour et de bonté,
Envoyez-nous une parole d'intelligence
Montrez-nous le sens divin de nos souffrances démesurées,
La raison de l'homme ne suffit pas si elle n'est incluse
Dans le rayon de votre lumière.

Laissez-moi donc parler selon la folie qui saisit mon âme.
Nos jours sont mauvais, infestés par l'enfer,
Le désespoir tend ses pièges.
Nul ne sera sauvé si vous n'abrégez les jours
Livrés au Prince de ce monde.
La foi nous assure que tout est bien de votre côté,
Vous qui gouvernez l'Univers par la Sagesse.
Mais nous portons notre foi dans des ténèbres de sang
Parce que la cruauté et la haine ont inondé la terre
De leurs torrents irréprimés,
Parce que la pitié est morte
Et qu'ils ont peur ceux qui ont l'autorité et la force,
Chiens sourds aux cris de la justice—chiens muets.

C'est parce que Vous-même notre Dieu
Vous nous avez abandonnés.
Et l'Ange de la Vérité se tait
Miroir de votre indifférence,
Parce que vous nous avez abandonnés à nous-mêmes.

IX

Il en est temps, réveillez-vous Seigneur Jésus, venez!
O Vous qui avez pris un coeur semblable au nôtre
Pour compatir à nos souffrances.
Envoyez-nous une parole de lumière et de paix
Donnez-nous de comprendre selon votre sagesse
De parler selon votre intelligence
De consoler selon votre miséricorde.
Faites cesser les crimes.
Souvenez-vous de l'innocence.
Ayez pitié de votre peuple,
Le peuple de la misère et de la peine
Des humiliés et des opprimés de toutes les Nations,
Et des Juifs, les opprimés du monde.
Envoyez les Apôtres qui enchanteront notre douleur
Selon l'efficacité de votre amour
Et la douceur du Saint-Esprit,
Comme jadis vous avez suscité vos psalmistes
Et donné l'enthousiasme et la connaissance
Aux Prophètes
Pour notre salut.

Wilderness has received beggars famished for peace,
And hermits' huts have become monasteries.
There is nothing more to invent in this shape,
And the cities of God themselves,
The people who inhabit them, are under tribute to sin.
There is nothing perfect under the sun,
The just have not been set apart from the wicked,
Nor has good been winnowed from evil.
But it will have been given to our age
To see reigning the Princes of Hell.

VIII

God of Abraham, of Isaac and Jacob
God of truth bounty and love
Send us a word of enlightenment
Show us the divine meaning of our measureless pain,
Man's reason does not suffice if it is not bathed
In the ray of Your light.

Let me then speak from the madness that seizes my soul.
Our days are evil, infested with hell,
Despair sets its traps.
No one will be saved if You do not shorten the days
Given over to the Prince of this World.
Faith assures us that all is well on Your side,
You Who rule the universe by Wisdom.
But we carry our faith in a murk of blood
Because cruelty and hatred have flooded the earth
With their unrepressed torrents.

Because pity is dead,
And they fear—those who have authority and strength—
Dogs deaf to the cries of justice—speechless dogs.

It is because You Yourself, our God,
You have forsaken us.
And the Angel of Truth keeps silent—
The mirror of Your indifference—
Because You have abandoned us to ourselves.

IX

It is time, awaken, Lord Jesus, come!
O Thou Who hast taken a heart like our hearts
To share in our pain and pity.
Send us a word of light and peace,
Grant us to understand in the ways of Thy wisdom,
To speak in the ways of Thine intelligence,
To console in the ways of Thy compassion.
Make the crimes cease.
Remember innocence.
Have mercy on Thy people,
The people of misery and affliction,
The humiliated and oppressed of all Nations,
And the Jews, the oppressed of all the world.
Send the Apostles who will enchant our pain
In the efficacy of Thy love
And the sweetness of the Holy Ghost,
As once Thou hadst raised up Thy psalmists,
And given divine frenzy and knowledge
To the Prophets
For our salvation.

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Communications

CALIFORNIA AGAINST THE FIELD

Los Angeles, Calif.

TO the Editors: Your editorial appearing in the August 11 issue of your publication concerning the proposed water treaty with Mexico is to my mind grossly unfair to the people of the State of California, and contains statements contrary to fact.

(1) It states that the proposed treaty is favored by Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Utah, Wyoming, and possibly by other states involved, and that it is bitterly opposed by "the large farmers of California." The facts are that certain representatives of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming on the Colorado River Basin Committee of Fourteen have expressed approval of the proposed treaty. But there has never been any general expression for or against the treaty by the people of those states, or by any large number of their responsible officials, state and local. Representatives of Texas have urged ratification of the treaty because this treaty gives to Texas in perpetuity a large quantity of the water of the Rio Grande River, which rises in Mexico. Nevada is on record through its representatives on the Colorado River Basin Committee of Fourteen as strongly opposed to the treaty. The statement that "the large farmers of California" oppose the treaty is misleading. The fact is that the treaty is opposed by the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Attorney General, both United States Senators and the Legislature of California, the latter body expressing its opposition by a joint resolution unanimously adopted by the State Senate and Assembly. The treaty is opposed by cities of California which have voiced their sentiments through their mayors, city councils, chambers of commerce and labor organizations. The treaty is also opposed by the California Farm Bureau and by the people of Imperial Valley. California's opposition to the vicious provisions of the proposed treaty comes from spokesmen of business, labor, industry, and home owners.

(2) The writer of this editorial implies that the water allotted to Mexico by the proposed treaty is vital to the future existence of the Mexican people. The fact is that the area within Mexico which is affected by the waters of the Colorado River does not exceed 2,000 square miles in extent, an infinitesimal fraction of the total area of Mexico. But the Colorado River basin area within the United States covers 242,000 square miles, one-thirteenth of the entire area of that country.

(3) The editorial goes on to say that "Californians do not actually need all the water they begrudge our neighbors across the border," attributing that opinion to the magazine *Business Week*. The fact is that California, Arizona and Nevada, and the other basin states as well, do actually need all of the water available from the Colorado River. The treaty would prevent performance by the United States of long standing contracts between the Federal Government and the various states and communities of the Colorado River basin. This is a matter of record and is admitted even by the responsible advocates of the proposed treaty. Nevertheless, California has always taken the position that Mexico should be given the right to as much water from the Colorado River as that country was ever able to divert and put to use prior to the regulation of the stream by the construction of Boulder Dam. That amount is approximately 750,000 acre feet. The proposed treaty would guarantee to deliver to Mexico for all time 1,500,000 acre feet of water annually, twice the amount that Mexico ever did or ever could use prior to the construction within the United States of Boulder Dam, and delivery of which is possible only because of investment of American dollars on American soil.

(4) The editorial states that if the treaty is ratified "California will have to forego some of the surplus waters it has been using from the Colorado." How waters in use in the United States could be considered "surplus" is not clear. The fact is that the treaty would abrogate long standing Colorado River water rights of California as set forth in contracts and compacts with the United States Government. If there were surplus waters available in the river they would be available only because of the great Boulder Dam storage facilities which are being paid for by California. Who then would have a better right to such surplus waters, if there were any, California or Mexico?

(5) The editorial concludes with this statement: "Once again the notorious factories in the fields of Imperial Valley seem to be a dog in the manger." The farmers of Imperial Valley represent only a small part of the citizenry of California that are opposing the proposed Mexican treaty. Because these people are seeking to protect their state and their homes for the coming generations against an unsound and dangerous treaty, the editor says they "seem to be a dog in the manger." The people of California are willing and ready to deal fairly with their neighbors in Mexico; they are willing that Mexico should enjoy every natural right in the waters of the Colorado River; they are unwilling to dedicate the fruits of their labor and money to the service of a foreign power; they are unwilling to give away vital United States resources which rightfully belong to United States communities, and which are required by these communities.

There exists a "Memorandum Relating to Powers and Duties of International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, as Proposed by Pending Treaty," prepared by Robert W. Kenney, Attorney General of California. I submit the following "highlights" of this Memorandum:

> (1) The treaty creates in perpetuity and beyond recall of Congress a two-man Commission (one from the United States and one from Mexico) to manage and control water and power resources in the three river systems of the Rio Grande, the Colorado and Tijuana rivers, and gives this Commission the power to ignore and override long established water rights on the Colorado River of states and communities within the United States.
>
> (2) The treaty delegates in perpetuity to the single Commissioner of the United States power to acquire title to, to control, to construct and operate all water, flood control and hydroelectric power projects on these three river systems in the United States to the extent he may deem

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such works connected with or affecting the carrying out of the treaty, and without regard to the established rights on the river of states and communities within the United States.

(3) The treaty makes the rights and interests of the American states, agencies, people and projects in the water of the Colorado River system subject to Mexican interests and rights.

(4) The treaty violates a statutory compact between the United States and California evidenced by the Boulder Act and the California Limitations Act, wherein it was provided that the benefits of storage at Boulder should be for lands "exclusively within the United States." Boulder Dam is being paid for almost entirely by California agencies.

(5) The treaty prevents the fulfillment of an act of Congress granting land settlement rights to United States war veterans.

(6) The treaty guarantees in perpetuity 1,500,000 acre feet of Colorado River water annually to Mexico. This is twice the quantity of water that Mexico ever did or even could take and use prior to the construction of Boulder Dam. And it gives Mexico the first right to the water, a right which in the event of a conflict is bound to take precedence over any and all water rights on the river of United States communities. The treaty will prevent full performance by the United States of water delivery contracts with California agencies, in reliance upon which hundreds of millions of dollars have been invested.

In fairness, I feel this presentation to your readers is justified.

V. H. ROSSETTI,
Director, Metropolitan Water District of Southern California.

A reply to Mr. Rossetti will appear in a forthcoming issue.—THE EDITORS.

The Stage & Screen

Star Time

ALTHOUGH it may appear paradoxical to speak of intimate vaudeville, Paul Small's latest at the Majestic is exactly that: six or so arrangements fondled, tweedled, addled, interrupted, and, of course, expanded by the indigenous and wonderful Lou Holtz. If somewhat thin and neat, the show is still, I think, good. It is always a tieup with me, at this kind of affair, whether to concentrate on the house or the clowns, since both seem equally fascinating and the delicate *rapport* between the two certainly a source of speculation and amazement to one who was no commoner of the old Palace nor of any of the other now legendary circuits of gaiety. Wednesday's public, together with the ubiquitist managing the curtains, filled the bill. Men, women and zombies met the familiar with nods and a buzz and the unfamiliar with interest; clapped when they liked it; didn't when they didn't; interpolated suggestion and comment; and otherpaid attention as well as tickets. To kindle all this, Mr. Holtz began with Lapidus (naturally), worked up to playing several harmonicas; mangled a scene in French from a box, made with the song and dance, and *listened*: the latter action being the pivot of the business, the permanent elixir. If it sounds like hard work, I'm sure it was; but at the same time, it is beautifully easy to watch and I wish it could be seen more than occasionally. On the other hand, it does seem sadly evident that without the introduction of a few plays by way of new talent and excitement, Mr. Small's yearly offerings must slowly descend to little more than a calendar of former styles. Here, for instance, his débutante of the evening, a very young singer called Shirley Dennis, was not impressive, I thought. Hugging a microphone, Miss Dennis exhibited nothing much beyond noisy assurance—a quality which might possibly be of personal although not theatrical benefit. Her opposing minstrel was Benny Fields, but as I am not one of his partisans (he frightens me) I can only record that he was on for long, and they loved it. For the rest, the dancing went from A to A, from the De Marcos to the incredible Berry Brothers (plus Holtz); and the remainder of the smaller professionals were both engaging and skilled. I particularly liked the simple finale and more than particularly, Richard Maney's system of paronomastic program notes. As the publicist whose rhetoric is my greatest envy, I hope Mr. Maney will have started something. (*At the Majestic.*)

The Day Will Come

IT ISN'T precisely clear to me what day was promised by Leo Birinski's piece. Building three acts in a Russian Isba (translated by me into an ordinary setting of an ordinary hut by Frederick Fox) the author gives us the Wandering Jew—maybe Nostradamus, maybe just a disciple—confronting and vanquishing Hitler in the year of the march on Moscow while the snow falls. Though it is necessary to commend Mr. Birinski's courage and timeliness, the idea is, as you can imagine, fraught with dangers and the author has escaped none of them. Moreover he is sadly served by the producer and star, Harry Green. Mr. Green has been quite unable to abandon his comedic propensities, and we have therefore the difficult spectacle of a mystic man of God playing at the same time for every boff, bamboola, snicker and outright laugh possible. Not good, not good, I'm sorry. (*At the National.*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

War Brides—1944

AS A youthful movie-goer during the last war, I was a bit confused as to just what the expression "War Brides" meant. But I knew it had something to do with women who married soldiers. I recall one very vivid scene, in a film of that name, in which Nazimova, arms outstretched, nostrils dilated and eyes practically popping out of her head, dared some German soldiers to shoot her. She was pregnant, and she rebelled at the idea of bearing future cannon fodder. This picture was considered pretty daring and advanced at the time.

Hollywood's version of War Brides in this war is very much different. We don't know how they will be portrayed by the time the war is over, but we have

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already heard several discussions in films on wartime marriages—pro and con, mostly pro. We saw Ginger Rogers proudly descending the staircase, in the finale of "Tender Comrade," with baby in arms and tears in eyes for she had just heard of the death of her soldier husband. In "Marine Raiders," we heard Robert Ryan advise his young sergeant to marry his sweetheart; and later we saw Captain Ryan marry Ruth Hussey, Australian officer in the WAAAF, in spite of Major Pat O'Brien's objections. However, in "Since You Went Away," young Corporal Robert Walker refused to marry Jennifer Jones, although the couple were very much in love. Now, two brand new films, continuing the discussion, come to no definite conclusion. Perhaps the theme is too big for cinema.

In *"I Love a Soldier,"* Paulette Goddard is willing to work all day in a defense factory and dance all night with men in uniform, but she is adamant in refusing to marry any one of the nice boys who ask her. Even when Sonny Tufts turns up and pursues his suit, and when one of her friends (Mary Treen) happily marries Sonny's buddy (Walter Sande), Paulette continues to say no. The issue is very much confused, however, in this film; for Sonny has a wife back East whom he must get rid of before he can marry a new one. Paulette is finally advised by Beulah Bondi (who lost her chances of marriage a long time ago) to follow Sonny to camp. She does and poses as his wife; then is kicked out of town as a camp follower. About this time Sonny gets his divorce and so is free, etc., etc. Mark Sandrich produced and directed this picture; and while it has a few amusing comedy scenes and some good San Francisco background, its thinking is so muddled and it is so cluttered up with extraneous characters that it proves nothing one way or the other—except that a shallow movie is a waste of time no matter how attractive its cast may be.

In *"The Impatient Years"* the cinematic and plot situation are handled much more intelligently. Producer-Director Irving Cummings had a small cast and a unified, simple story to tell. While this film isn't the funniest comedy of manners ever made, it is an unusually amusing and pleasant little movie. At the beginning Jean Arthur is divorcing her husband, Lee Bowman. Her father (Charles Coburn) tells the judge (Edgar Buchanan) to think it over very carefully because "there's going to be a million cases just like this." It seems that Jean and Lee (a sergeant in the Army) met, fell in love, were married and had a honeymoon all in four days. Then he went off to war. While he was gone Jean had a baby; and when he returned a year and a half later, he came home to a strange house and a baby he had never seen. What's more, a roomer had been living in the house for the past year and he knew Jean and the baby better than Lee did. In fact Jean and Lee soon discovered that they hardly knew each other at all, and once they set to quarreling, it looked as if they would never become acquainted. So the judge delivers a lecture, then decides they must return to San Francisco and, step by step, retrace the four days of their meeting, marriage and

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honeymoon before he will even consider the divorce. They go; but reliving the four days doesn't prove so romantic—at first. The situations provide a great deal of fun for the spectator. Jean Arthur and Lee Bowman are bright in their rôles; and Cummings has directed the script with nice timing. Of course the plot turns out as the girl's papa and the judge knew it would. "The Impatient Years" doesn't really prove anything about war marriages either, but at least the film suggests that some thought has been given to the subject; and there's the barest possibility that other young couples might be helped by its message: the best part of the marriage is after the honeymoon, so keep your feet in the housekeeping and your hearts in the sky.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Editors' Choice

THE GRAVEDIGGERS OF FRANCE: *Gamelin, Daladier, Reynaud, Pétain and Laval; Military Defeat, Armistice, Counter-revolution. Pertinax. Doubleday.* $6.00.

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM. *Friedrich A. Hayek. Chicago.* $2.75.

GOLDEN ROSE. *Pamela Hinkson. Knopf.* $2.50.

The Germans Dug the Grave

FROM the moment "The Gravediggers of France" was published it became impossible for anyone to write conscientiously about events in France, from the start of the war through the fall of France and on to the Liberation of Paris, unless he read this book. No other account is as complete or the result of such conscientious research. In Paris, Pertinax (André Geraud) knew everyone, saw everyone; he kept notes; leaving Bordeaux at the time of the armistice he immediately consulted every possible British source, all manner of British personalities who had dealt with the French government and the French military leaders throughout the early phases of the war, and, of course, he consulted all the French who were in exile. His own memory for detail appears to have been exceptional and he checked what he wrote again and again with anyone who could confirm or amend what he had written. It goes without saying that he did not enter upon this work out of any simple intellectual curiosity as to the reasons for the disaster which came to France; his emotions were fervently engaged. So that his book is written with lucid passion; the facts, an endless procession of facts, are brought before the reader and these facts support a thesis—the thesis that a certain number of men, through their faults of commission and omission brought France to ruin. These men were the "gravediggers" of France.

The title of this book and the thesis which it expresses remain ambiguous, for gravediggers are not necessarily, and in fact very rarely, the murderers of the body they inter. And this brilliant and conscientious book, this brilliant and serious indictment confuses guilt with the unhappy state of men overwhelmed by fate. The facts about these men are all there; they made mistakes which brought cruel and bitter consequences; some of them were weak men; some of them were criminally frivolous. One cannot dismiss the facts and no reviewer in this country is in a position to dispute them. Yet one can remember the other war, and in reading Pertinax it was impossible not to remember another book written after the other war. Pierrefeu wrote a book about French GHQ and it is impossible not to remember that almost everyone in that book made ghastly mistakes, that the generals quarreled among each other, that the parliamentarians did a great deal to impede the progress of the war, that victory hung very often by the thinnest of threads. The point is that victory came at the end of that war, after an incredible succession of trial and error. It was not the British alone who muddled through.

Defeat came to the French in this war. That makes the difference. The mistakes, the weaknesses, the frivolity of the French leadership when Pertinax looks at them with France defeated become crimes, inexpiable crimes. But in the other war, when you looked at them with France victorious, they became nothing more than material for an interesting book. One looked back at the perils of a divided command, at the follies of the parliamentarians, at the treachery of a few, just as one looked back at the flow and ebb of the fighting, the hazards of the war; one looked back at them from victory.

The Germans prepared this war. The Germans were the "Gravediggers of France." In this war the German invasion plan succeeded. The French people did not want the war; they were ill prepared for war; when war came the French made every possible mistake. But they did not throw the war out of the window by reason of their mistakes; it is true that they lost the war; but it is far more true to say that the Germans won the war they had prepared against France; the Germans won the battle of France.

Someone has to win a war and someone has to lose a war. If a war were a football game, then some people would lose the war if they played badly and some people would win the war if they played well. But the German offensive against France was something very different; the Germans wanted to make war and the French did not. It might have been the other way round—if the French had been insane. But it was the way it was and the French were doomed from the start.

That was indeed the whole meaning of Munich. If America and England had been with France, Munich would have had a different meaning. But they were not with France. So Munich meant that the French feared war and they hoped that Germany might be placated and there would be no war. It is easy to say that their hope was an absurd hope, a ridiculous dream hope. You hope for what you want. The French wanted peace; they got war; they lost the war just as they knew they would lose the war. That is why they did not want the war.

But Pertinax argues as if the possibilities might have been the other way. Gamelin, Daladier and all the rest of them are criminal because they might have made things go the other way. This seems hard to admit and the indictment against these men consequently seems false in general even when in every detail it has the appearance of validity. Facts are no good unless they check with a theory; the facts brought forward by Pertinax are no good because they are not related to the overwhelmingly central theory which governs the outcome of this war. This theory is simply that Germany could not be defeated until the forces of the United States and those of Russia were thrown into the balance. No generalship, no sacrifices, no devotion, no steadfast purpose could avail against Germany unless the weight of these extra-European forces gave the material and moral support which was necessary to balance the German power.

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If this general and essential point of view is kept in mind, then this book by Pertinax becomes of immense value. It is intensely interesting to read. It was extremely worthwhile to write. But only on condition that the reader remembers constantly that the French could not have won the battle of France. Because otherwise the American reader might only too easily be led into thinking that the French deserved to lose the battle of France; that the French were so disorganized, vacillating and corrupt that they deserved to lose their independence. And once you start on that tack you might as well approve of Vichy, which thought very much the same thing and justified on the same grounds its own despair and acceptance of defeat.

Another Nock

DESPITE a certain amount of boyish exuberance on the part of those who would lump all war and New Deal business restrictions and throw them out the window, no serious observer will fail to grant the necessity of economic planning in the postwar period. The real dispute has to do with how much and what kind of planning "The Road to Serfdom" has some interesting suggestions as to how much planning there should be. One of its most striking illustrations is the contrast between the power of an American millionaire, say, over his neighbors, and that of even a minor functionary in a highly centralized state. The author, Dr. Hayek, dwells on the horrors of centralized economic and political authority with extreme conviction. He presents what is in many ways a Germanicized version of Albert Jay Nock's, "Our Enemy, the State."

It is both startling and highly revealing that as far back as in 1928 some 53 percent of the German national income was directly controlled by central and local government authorities. Economically, at least, it would seem that the shift to nazism was not so radical. Dr. Hayek offers as a preferable recipe such state activity as provides private enterprise with the best possible conditions for competition. He does not say what these conditions would be, nor does he make any claim that he is presenting positive suggestions for the postwar period. His object is to warn us all against drifting unbeknownst into the shackles of collectivism.

To do this he describes at every juncture in a general, theoretical way what would happen under the most extreme forms of socialization, centralized economic planning and enslavement. He shows how easy it is to trample on human rights in order to gain a collective goal. The way socialism invariably works in practice, he finds, goes directly counter to whatever democratic aspirations its sincere advocates may have. It leads straight to fascism. He stresses the importance of the institution of private property as a hedge against slavery and the key value of personal responsibility. For he believes that one of the dictator's most winning lures is the promise to relieve the people of responsibility.

As things now stand in this country it would seem that the chief usefulness of the volume is academic, for there is today far greater danger that we shall revert to rugged individualism. In England and in Canada however, it may serve as an even more timely warning. Dr. Hayek's power of argument is somewhat attested to by the persuasiveness of his case for regulation of public utilities as opposed to state ownership. Even so, only government so far has succeeded in producing a TVA.

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Love Story in India

THIS IS ONE of those occasions where the plot of a novel is so simple that it can be fully told in two brisk sentences and yet it is so overlaid with color and ideas that it supports a novel of nearly four hundred pages. Mother India supplies the color in Pamela Hinkson's "Golden Rose" and it is an abundance of color. The India which Katharine Tynan's daughter presents here so feelingly is principally the India of a visitor's surface impressions: the heat, showers, verdure, dust, birds, bullocks, barrens, hard-pressed natives and the like. The book so abounds in competent sensory description that a number of readers will impatiently find it too lavish. The India of increasingly nationalistic aspirations or of the age-long religious quest has little place in the author's considerations.

The ideas, on the contrary, come from the nuns of the Order of Notre Dame de la Guérison in general and Sister Françoise, Mother Rectress of the State Hospital of Mholpur, in particular. They could hardly be more edifying. And there is a fruitful comparison between what inspires the noble work of both Doctor-Colonel Meldon and the Protestant missionary, Miss Williams, and the fully religious motivation of their staunch friends, the French Sisters, come to India to perform similar works of mercy. Miss Hinkson is remarkably successful in explaining how the ardent love of God leads to zeal for souls and to ministering to the physical needs of others. She makes unmistakably clear the positive motivation of those who have given up the world to follow this heroic vocation.

The love story itself in such a setting appropriately enough is one of both depth and self-sacrifice. The two young people who ultimately find everything in each other—after a strong initial attraction—are not free to marry. At no point does there seem to be any danger that they will run away together or that Mrs. Charters will consider getting a divorce. So that the problem becomes simply how he and she will accept their tragic fate—not a very perplexing question, either, in view of the deep friendship which each enjoys with the saintly Mother Rectress. But the plot here is not the point. The influence of these nursing Sisters is so marked in this richly-detailed story that it is difficult to think of a single character with whom they came in contact who does not live up to *"Noblesse oblige."* It is a tribute to Miss Hinkson's skill that these people are quite convincing.

More Books of the Week

The Leaning Tower. Katherine Anne Porter. Harcourt. $2.50.

I HAVE been esthetically betrayed by the silence of my friends. For I had not, up to now, known about Katherine Anne Porter. I had not known that there was a contemporary writer of short stories who was original and exciting. I had not known that there was a modern story teller who was beyond vulgarity, who put a value upon words, and whose love of language was so great that it was impossible for her to write without distinction.

I am being a little awkward about this, but if you have read Henry James you will know what I mean. Writing is a disciplined art difficultly learned and practiced always with respect. There exists a thing called artistic integrity. And every word and every sentence that you shape reveals your fidelity to it. Invested with this is the work of Katherine Anne Porter.

Most of the things in this book are less stories than sketches. Rather they are finely sculptured vignettes. They are anecdotes, descriptions of incidents, or swift, fugitive glimpses of character. They are not stories because they have no beginning, no middle and no end. They contain no plots and lead to no climax. Their interest, therefore, lies less in confinement within an artistic form than in the careful handling of good prose.

For Miss Porter can write stories that would meet all the dogmatic requirements of Poe. She can write of the bewildered young, of the poor and the spiritually confined, of the stubbornly survived, of the remembering old, of those who wear the little clothes of an idea or of a narrow ethic. And she can make character emerge from dialogue—though she does not often do it—as surely as it does in Hemingway. Of a couple on relief, dissolving and bravely trying to keep at top mast the flags of respectability, she can give us this:

"Keep your daughter, Lacey Mahaffy," he said, "she's none of mine but the fruits of your long sinning with the Holy Ghost. And now I'm off for a little round and a couple of beers to keep my mind from dissolving entirely."

"You can't have that dollar you just now sneaked off the shelf," said Mrs. Halloran. "So you think I'm blind besides? Put it back where you found it. That's for our daily bread."

"I'm sick of bread daily," said Mr. Halloran, "I need beer. It was not a dollar, but a half-dollar as you know well."

"Whatever it was" said Mrs. Halloran, "it stands instead of a dollar to me. So just drop it."

"You've got tomorrow's potatoes sewed up in your pocket this minute, and God knows what sums in that black box wherever you hide it, besides the life savings," said Mr. Halloran. "I earned this dollar on relief, and it's going to be spent properly. And I'll not be back for supper, so you'll save on that, too. So long, Lacey Mahaffy, I'm off."

"If you never come back, it will be all the same," said Mrs. Halloran, not looking up.

"If I came back with a pocket full of money, you'd be glad to see me," said Mr. Halloran.

I like, especially, the story called "The Old Order," since it is a story of a passionately honest woman who lives for a long time a dishonest life. Judged on a high and rigid plane of morality, the lives of most of us are dishonest in the sense that our integrity refuses our nakedness to all other human beings. To none do we give and to none do we surrender the white virginity of our souls. It is this that gives a certain falseness to all human relationships. It is this that makes of love an inarticulate tragedy in which there is always one who kisses and one who holds the cheek. And it is in this reticence that many marriages are lived, whose outward harmonies are pragmatic concessions to the hostages that are their children. This kind of knowledge lies like a secret flower slowly uncoiling within this story of Miss Porter's.

But it is "The Grave" that is my favorite in this book. Few adults understand children, and fewer still can write of them. The silent competition for denied knowledge of themselves and of their origins had never been more delicately nor more prefectly told than in this story. If I had never read any other of her stories, Katherine Anne Porter would be for me an artist—one whose sensitiveness and subtlety are a tribute to the intellect and to the spirit.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

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The Inner Forum

"A World to Reconstruct"

DR. GUIDO GONELLA, author of "A World to Reconstruct" recently published by Bruce (translated into English by Rev. T. L. Bouscaren, S.J.), was a member of the editorial staff of *Osservatore Romano* from 1938 to 1944. His column, "Acta Diura" (Daily Events), he signed only with his initials. He was arrested at Viterbo in 1939 on the charge that the column fostered anti-fascism. He was thrown into prison in Rome, but a strong protest to the Italian Foreign Office by the late Cardinal Maglione succeeded within a week's time in securing his release. The Papal Secretariat of State then installed Professor Gonella and his family in an apartment inside the Vatican in order to protect them from further reprisals by the fascists. At present Dr. Gonella is serving at Rome as editor of *Il Popolo,* the daily of the Christian Democratic Party.

His book is an able topical interpretation of the basic ideas of Pope Pius XII on international and social justice. It comprises, in fact, a series of articles published in the *Osservatore* from January to May, 1942, on the five points of each of the Pope's Christmas messages from 1939 to 1941. It is an excellent analytical study beginning with the necessity of overcoming hatred as a first step in the reform of international morality.

Dr. Gonella stresses the emphasis which Pius XII has placed on the preservation of the integrity of the smaller nations and the protection of minorities. Here is an example of the author's approach to a principle (in this case, the international distribution of wealth): "What belongs to individual nations as far as the power of procuring and disposing is concerned, belongs also to the members of the Community of States as regards its use, which must be communal. Those who belong to one national group will have a *right* of ownership over their goods, but they will also have a *duty* toward those who belong to other national groups in everything which concerns the use of those goods. National economy has an international function, just as private property has a social function. This is the principle which makes it a duty to secure an equitable distribution of raw materials. Hence the state is a society having a function of *mediation* between goods belonging to one national group and goods which are disposable outside the group itself and which are obtainable through economic relations and accords with other national groups."

CONTRIBUTORS

Raïssa MARITAIN, one of the most distinguished of living French poets, says: "When last autumn I wrote these lines, I tried with all the strength of my soul to identify myself with those who had suffered to the point of despair and who, now dead, will be forgotten, and their sufferings and their despair denied." The English translation of the poem is by Mrs. Emily Scarborough, with the assistance of Jacques Maritain.

Francis DOWNING is at present assistant educational director of the United Auto Workers of America.

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